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but when their preparations are finished, about four o'clock, they take their ease and chat and gossip lightly. Perhaps they wander over to another hamlet and visit the women there. At sunset they return home, feed the pigs with the scrapings from the taro, and, if they have fowls,[1] these are also fed. The girls and younger children go to the beach waterholes, in which the sea-water is filtered as it trickles up through the sand, and they fill the hollow bamboo stems with drinking-water. The time for this varies with the tide.

Night comes quickly and by seven it is almost completely dark. Each family is gathered around its own fire in the compound in front of the house. Some sit on the ground and others may be on a bamboo bench constructed near the fire. Now they have their evening meal, the inevitable baked taro, perhaps varied with a bit of fish or a few crabs. Throughout the village every family is gathered as a unit around its own fire, and there is an air of peace in the place.

How the rest of the evening is spent will depend upon the moon. On dark nights, unlit by the moon, everyone goes to bed quite early, an hour or so after they finish the evening meal. but on moonlight nights the scene is different. Even when the moon is only half full the village is illumined by its beams, and when it is completely rounded the place fairly shimmers in its rays. The leaves of the coconut palms shine bright green and the bamboo trees sparkle with fireflies. The beach is like a cold white streak lying between the dark blue waves and the green trees. The tall arica palm nods its head gracefully in the background. The fires gleam throughout the village and aid the moon in throwing tall shadows, which make the houses seem small and insignificant. Now there is gaiety in the night. Children are playing on the beach imitating a ritual dance. Adults are visiting each other in their compounds, or strolling about, and

[1] Chickens have been introduced through white contact.

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231 834 is thought that the young pig would sicken and die; and pigs are very valuable property.

262 854 The fish taboo which has already been mentioned in connection with pregnancy holds over to this period of infancy. The death of one infant about a month old was attributed to the fact that his father had eaten one of the taboo fish. He was a man formerly from a bush village, and therefore not cognizant of the fish taboos of the coast people. Actually, as far as I could observe, the infant died from an infected sore on the upper part of his leg.

854 834 602 Now, while it is both the parents, but more often certain clan relatives, matrilineal grandparents and uncles and aunts, in particular, who have duties to perform towards the infant, such as making the ritual feasts, taking care of him, etc., it is only the parents who are supposed to observe sexual taboos. A maternal aunt is called by the term mother (*Nangga*), and she has certain duties to perform for her nephew or niece, and a maternal uncle has many responsibilities in the giving of feasts, etc., but sexual taboos are restricted to the real parents.

854 The baby has been born. The women of the opposite moiety have fought playfully. His mother has suckled him. His maternal grandmother has taken care of him. So also has his father looked after him. He has been the affectionate pet of his whole hamlet. His maternal uncle and grandfather have given feasts for him at birth, when he cut his first tooth, and when he received his name. He has been betrothed, although everyone knows this is not to be taken too seriously. A feast has been given by his parents for his possible future mates. And during all this time his parents are supposed to have been sexually continent. The baby is now able to walk and to talk a little, and is approximately about three years old. He has entered childhood.

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881 778 the *kolamuth*). When I was a little boy my grandfather gave it to me, and now I use it well. It is not good that you say, 'Who gave it to him?' Now you know; it was my grandfather who gave it to me." He sits down.

[302] Now four men come in, faces smeared with white lime, hair decorated with leaves, and carrying leaves and a shell rattle in their hands.[1] Silently they dance up to the *malanggan*. One hurls a stick, as if it were a spear, at the round enclosure in the centre of the *Kolebmur malanggan*, which represents a door and is called by that name, *mut*. When the stick hits it a plank behind falls down, leaving an opening. The stick is laid in the centre of the enclosure before the *malanggan*. The four men now sit down in front of the *malanggan* and sing. When they stop Lungow picks up a betel-nut from the ground in front of the *malanggan* and says, "This betel-nut belongs to the *Walik malanggan*." Picking up the betel-nut is a signal that the dancing is over and that the feasting will begin. If anyone should rise before this signal it is thought that some disaster would befall him; he might fall from a tree.

[262] Two young men bring in a baked pig and place it on the ground beside the *malanggan*. Two large bundles of baked taro and another pig are already there, and two other pigs are on top of the *malanggan*. All the pigs have been contributed by Sola, Mekeo, Lungow, and Lumaeris, the owners of the *malanggans*. Sola stands up, holding in his hands [293] the bird's beak (*Notinamaen*), the black wooden rattle containing pigs' teeth (*Tumba*), the headdress of feathers (*Bilut*), all used by the two men who had been swaying back of the 881 778 537 *malanggan*. He says: "You see the *kanda* (stick thrown at the *malanggan*), the *notinamaen*, the *bilut*, the *tumba*: Now if I,

[1] These men are of different clans and moieties, but the one who hurls the stick is of the same clan as the man who is displaying the *malanggan*. The former says that his clan relatives taught him how to "shoot the door."

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THATCHING THE ROOF

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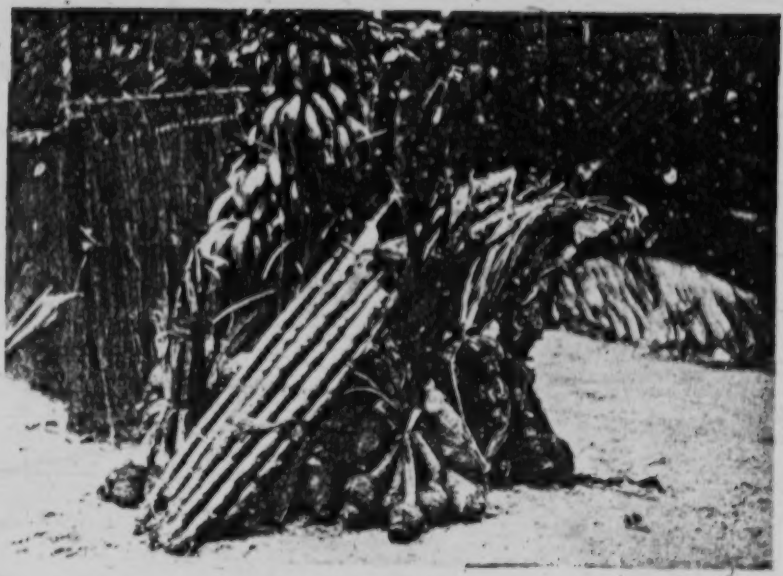

RITUAL PILE OF FOOD, SHOWING TARO, SUGAR-CANE, AND BANANAS

[facing p. 148]

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CHAPTER VI

WORK

IT is obvious that the type of economic structure is related in some degree to the environment which, while it may not act as a determining factor, is a limiting condition. The general appearance and topography of the island have already been described in the introductory chapter. Here it is necessary only to emphasize the resources.

RESOURCES

Both the land and the sea provide the means of livelihood. In the dense bush are hunted wild pigs which are used for immediate consumption, or domesticated and eaten at some future time. Parts of the same bush ground are cleared for the gardens. The principal crop is taro, but yams are also cultivated to some extent. Banana trees are planted in large numbers, as are also the pawpaw trees. Pineapple trees have been introduced, but are not grown extensively. Coconut trees, while not planted in the gardens, are found wild everywhere. Betel-nuts, the south-sea almond, a species of apple, sugar-cane, dates, and bread-fruit may also be found in a wild state throughout the bush. Along the banks of the rivers are the sago palms, the fruit of which is highly valued. A species of tobacco is also grown and is much in demand by the ever-smoking natives.

From the bush also comes the material for building houses. Palm, bamboo, and hardwood trees are all at the disposal of the native when he builds his shelter. The material for drums, *malanggans*, canoes, fishing-nets, etc., comes from the same place, as do also the dyes and paints which colour the elaborate *malanggans* and dancing-masks and sometimes

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the face. Brightly coloured birds give their plumage for headdresses, but are not considered as food. Snakes used to be eaten, but to-day are not used as food.[1] There is a species of phalanger which is occasionally eaten and whose teeth are used for necklaces. The wild pig is highly valued as food, and it or its domesticated brother is necessary for a big feast. So to the native the bush is not only a dark, mysterious place, peopled with his doubles, the *gas*, and occasionally with ghosts, or the place where he goes for his extra-marital intercourse, but it is primarily a very intimate and essential part of his world, from which he gets many of the necessary resources both for his everyday and ritual life. That the bush could give him much more does not occur to him. The paucity of his material culture and diet, compared to other Oceanic peoples in a similar environment, merely indicates that the New Irelander has not made full use of the natural resources at hand.

The sea, too, he views from its practical aspects. Out of it come the fish which are an important part of his food supply. On the reefs are the crabs and shellfish which form a welcome variation in the diet. The turtle is a rarer delicacy, and has two uses: its internal organs are highly prized as a food, and from its shell is made the design on the breast ornament (*kepkep*) and fish-hooks. The shark provides an exciting occupation and an occasional variation in diet. Once a year there emerges from the sea a special worm, the *beta*, the catching of which is a ritual occasion, and it, too, is a welcome delicacy. The water from the sea, filtered somewhat as it bubbles up through a hole on the sandy beach, is, with the fresh coconut milk, the only other drink the natives have.

The sea to the native is not only the source of part of his food, but is his bath-tub and finger-bowl as well. When he

[1] The missions have said that the snake is evil, because of its actions in the original garden of Paradise, and so it is not to be eaten.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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cement leaves, coconut, taro, and so on for four layers. The outer leaves are then wrapped around it to make a bundle, which is tied with vine and baked in the *liga*. All the preparations for the cooking of the *beta*, except the scraping of the taro, is done by the men. It is eaten by both sexes and much enjoyed.

In the past snakes were also eaten. They were killed by beating them on the head, and then cut up, wrapped in leaves, and baked in the *liga*, and were considered good food. To-day, however, it would be considered dangerous to eat a snake, because of the part it played in the Garden of Eden story, as told by the missionaries. In some vague and unexplainable way the snake is now considered a taboo food, even among unmissionized natives. They may not have accepted any of the Christian morals or tenets, or even know much about them, but the snake story they take seriously, and it is the snake which stands out as a prominent part of the Fall of Man.

Other Cooking

There is only one leaf, *mutil*, resembling a spinach leaf, which is cooked. Recently some of those who have worked on a plantation have brought home with them a saucepan, and the leaf is boiled, together with the milk of the coconut and the shredded coconut. In the past it was wrapped in other leaves and baked in the *liga*.

Unripe bananas are buried in the sand for a week. They are left on the stalk and laid in a trench-like hole on the sandy beach and then covered over with sand. The result is a very soft squashy banana, preferred by natives to the raw one. It is prepared in this way for a feast, but on ordinary occasions the raw banana is eaten.

Pawpaws are usually eaten raw, although they are sometimes baked in the *liga*. Other fruits are eaten raw.

In the past these natives were cannibals, but they ate only

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764 each piece separately, said to whom and for what it was
431 being paid. All the *tsera* was contributed by Maling's clan relatives, about twelve of them, the largest amount coming from Soles and Malalis. First, the people from whom the pigs have been bought were paid, then the pall-bearers, and then the dancers. Tobacco and food formed the payment to the two latter groups. Then there were gifts of portions of pigs by the owners, Maling's clan relatives, who have purchased them for the occasion, and which form part of a long chain of economic transactions, consisting of exchange gifts, already described in the section under economic structure. Finally all the gifts were made, the rites were over, and everyone returned wearily to their homes.

765 For several weeks now all the women of the hamlet (this included the members of the extended family) slept in Tubung's house and the men at the men's house. There
[834] was an abstention from sexual intercourse at this time. During the day the ordinary family life was interrupted. The men spent most of their time sitting in the cemetery, and talked about any matter that happened to be of immediate interest. The women were together, busy much of the time with communal preparations of the meals, which the men ate in the cemetery and the women in the compound.
[262] During this time Tubung, the daughter of the dead woman, refrained from eating taro. This taboo is kept by parents and children, brothers and sisters, and husband or wife, should they be alive. During this same period dance rehearsals, which happened to have been begun before the death, were discontinued by everyone in the village. The end of the period was marked by a feast given by Soles, who hit a baked pig on the back.

764 The mortuary rites for Maling are typical. In illness it is usually a daughter or parent who takes care of the sick person. At Maling's death the behaviour of a husband

2: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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the *tinuato* wanders around near the place of death and makes its presence known by a low whistle. Although it has no malignant qualities, it is regarded with great fear.

There is no belief in life after death (except for the ghost), in rewards or punishments, or in any deity. It is interesting to observe that for the missionised native it is the *tinuato* which goes to hell, and it is this also which has become the Christian soul.

These people, until very recently, were cannibals. All the adults of the community in which I lived had been cannibals before the white government stopped the practice. But it was only the bodies of enemies killed in warfare which were eaten, and never the body of a friend, relative, or member of the same village. As far as could be ascertained, there was no theory of imbibing the strength of the enemy warrior. It was merely another meat dish in a diet which was mostly vegetable.[4]

Cremation rather than burial was formerly practised, but as far as could be learned there has been no change in the rites. In the past the body was burned and the bones buried. The cemeteries existed then just as they do to-day—each hamlet with its own. In the rites to-day cremation is simply omitted and the whole body is buried instead of just the bones, as in the past.[5]

The following description, covering the three chronological periods, brings out the divisions among the survivors who are grouped according to their kinship to the dead person, their degree of mourning and their responsibility for the rites.

PREPARATIONS BEFORE DEATH

In the period immediately preceding death there is even then a selection of certain relatives who will perform special duties towards the dying person. It is always the parents or children who take care of the sick person. Before death occurs, it is to the house of the parents or children that the patient is moved. The spouse is very attentive also, and the rest of the community show their interest by cooking in the hamlet of the sick person and by dis-

[4]However, one can never completely trust information gathered from hearsay only, and with no opportunity to observe the phenomenon itself.

[5]White control is responsible for the change.

2:Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM1)
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the house of the dead person. These include usually the following: real and classificatory sons and daughters and their spouses, brothers and sisters, parents, nephews and nieces. This period of abstention from sexual intercourse lasts about three weeks and its end is marked by a feast. The initiative in terminating this period is taken by a clan relative (a brother in several cases observed). He holds the feast and at it announces the discontinuance of the sleeping taboo. During the time when these sex taboos are enforced all those implicated live in the hamlet where the death occurred. They not only sleep there, but cook, eat, and spend their entire time at this hamlet. One death occurred in the hamlet next to the one in which I was living, involving most of the people in my hamlet, which was consequently deserted for the three weeks following the death. The men spend their time sitting around the cemetery, talking and doing nothing. Their conversation is mostly about any practical affair that happens to engage their attention. After one death it was about the expected visit of the district officer to collect taxes, a very momentous affair in the life of the native, but having nothing to do with the recent death. Each day the men eat together in the cemetery. The women prepare the food together and remain in the compound to eat, but not with the men, instead of returning to their own house to eat, as they usually do. Some of these people are observing food taboos. The taboo is on eating taro, the staple food of the native, and is observed by parents or children, brothers or sisters, and husband or wife. This taboo is kept until a few days before the mourners go back to their ordinary sleeping arrangements, and its end is also marked with a feast, when one of those observing the taboo hits a baked pig on the back before it is cut up for the feast. The hitting of the pig is a signal that the taboo is lifted. If dance rehearsals happen to have been in progress they are discontinued for about ten days after the death.[10] A brother gives the signal for the resumption of the dance rehearsals by sounding the *kolamuth* (a hollowed tree trunk used as a drum). The native evidently makes a distinction between the

[10]Dance rehearsals are carried on for months before a rite, of which they are a part, is held.

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

466 frequently happens that the plantation owner or manager is thus brought intimately in touch with all the people of the villages to which his employees belong, and one hears of many acts of kindness and consideration on the part of the employers towards the fellow-villagers of their labourers, such as the free treatment of sick, &c. I heard of one planter on the east coast road who not only places his plantation hospital at the disposal of the people of surrounding villages, but both he and his wife actually go among them and encourage them to come in whenever they are in need of careful treatment, to this end often incurring considerable expense in drugs and food.

000 I think that the employment of local natives should be encouraged in every way possible. As I have pointed out already, it is far more economical for the planter to secure his labourers from adjacent villages than to recruit them from other parts of New Guinea. It also lessens the drain on the population if able-bodied men available for plantation work serve on some place near enough to their villages to enable them to continue the thread of village life. For these reasons I have made a recommendation to the Administration that the recruiting of natives of the Kavieng-Karu district for work outside New Ireland, excepting for skilled and domestic work, be prohibited.

The few that engage in skilled labour and domestic work in other parts of the Territory make no appreciable difference to village life, and, since work of that kind provides an avenue of usefulness to natives adapted for it, I think it should be kept open for them. What is desired is to prevent the district being drained of its best blood. This can be effected by prohibiting general recruiting for work in other districts.

464 In examining the tables, we find that the percentage of natives under indenture is larger in some villages than in others. Where these natives are engaged on local plantations the numbers are, for reasons given, not so alarming as they appear to be. In fact, it suggests a trend in the right direction, for in proportion to the number of local natives employed is indicated the influence of the employer and the manner in which he is fulfilling his part in the work of progress.

FOOD.

●262 The usual native foods are planted in the gardens, and people of the coastal villages appear able to secure fish, lobsters, and various shell fish. Pigs are bred in the villages, and wild pigs are hunted in the bush. In the mountain villages vegetable food is more plentiful than on the coast, where the ground is not so fertile, and gardens, especially 438 those of certain villages, are some distance away. There is, however, constant trade in foods between the bush and coastal communities

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After death feasts 32
Nineteen of this number were connected with the display of malanggons.
Circumcision rites[8] 8
In payment for economic services 5
These were to repay workers who had built a house or made a garden fence.
Women's feasts 11
Those at which the women eat or where the food is distributed to them. The latter is the more frequent occurrence. The men do not eat at the women's feasts. They may be further analyzed as follows: birth, 4; pregnancy, 1; circumcision, 1; menstruation, 1; marriage, 1; malanggon,[9] 1; end of dance rehearsals, 1; payment to women who had helped a sick woman of opposite moiety, 1.
Miscellaneous feasts 20
These are subdivided as follows: abundance of some particular food, 9; baby cutting his first tooth, 1; giving of name to infant, 1; recovery from illness, 2; settlement of quarrel, 1; because infant is strong, 1; for possible mates of infant, 1; end of folk-tale telling period, 1; for my departure, 1; for my servant's departture, 1; just sociability, 1.

At the far end of the village, other minor feasts probably occurred which I did not record or witness. The number of people attending ranged from twenty to five hundred.

Preparations for a Feast

Preparing for a feast is a communal enterprise. Early in the morning of the feast, or the day before if it is a big one, the women of the hamlet, village, or several villages, depending on the size of the feast, bring their taro to the communal cooking ground or cook house.[10] They and the girls old enough to be of assistance immediately begin the work of scraping and preparing the taro to be baked. Their only implement is a shell called 'sip, with which they scrape the skin from the taro. The scraped taro is then wrapped in leaves. The women are quite ingenious in cooking, and there are a number of ways in which this general method is varied. Shredded coconut may be added, or the taro may be cut in a certain manner, or the inside may be scooped out, etc. The women sit in a group on the ground, working busily and seriously. A few men are off on one side tending to the liga, a pile of hot stones on which the food is to be baked. A fire is made to heat the

[8] At these circumcision rites malanggons were displayed. So the rites really had a double function—mortuary and circumcision.

[9] Men ate at this feast, too, but separately from the women.

[10] The principal foods are taro, fish, crabs, pigs, bananas, coconuts, and pawpaws, supplemented by yams, sago, turtle, etc. Taro is the staple article of diet, and its preparation is the main work both of family meals and feasts.

5: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1932 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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stones, and when these are hot they are leveled and the food put between them. Leaves and sand are then put over it, and the food remains there until it is baked. Men are working in groups of two or three, but not very continuously, wrapping a fish or a pig in leaves preparatory to baking, or bringing in leaves from the bush to wrap around the food. Their work in this connection is never as steady as the women's work. A man may tend to the liga and then loll around for a half hour or more, until there is something else to do. Frequently the men will take care of the babies, while the mothers scrape the taro. The main work of cooking falls upon the women; although the men do assist, this does not break into the sexual division of labor.

When the women have finished preparing the taro (for a big feast this takes at least three or four hours), and after it has been placed in the liga, the ground on which they have been working is cleaned and they take their ease. Until now they have been working seriously and without stopping, except perhaps to nurse a baby. There has been no talking except for the necessary remarks about the taro. Now they sit in the same place smoking their pipes and chatting. Gossip is exchanged, jokes are told and followed with appreciative laughter, and here and there a woman is engaged in the pastime of searching for lice in a friend's or relative's hair. If a woman of the village has just become pregnant, there will be playful fighting between the women of the opposite moieties. This part of the pregnancy rites occurs whenever there is a group of women present. The men in the meantime are a short distance away, on the beach, in the compound in front of the men's house or some other house, in groups of two or three, smoking and chatting but not in any large group. This period—while the food is baking in the liga—is an easy, convivial, feminine communal occasion, as is the eating which follows for the men.

Description of Feast

Three or four hours later, when the food has been baked, the men and boys carry it in their hands into the cemetery. For the men the cemetery serves as a banqueting hall and most of the men's ritual feasts are held there.[11] Women are never permitted in the cemetery for a feast, or at any other time, except at a burial, and then they leave immediately after the interment.[12]

[11] The economic feasts in payment to workers are not always held in the cemetery, and the malanggon ones are held in a special structure erected for them. The connection of eating in the cemetery with mortuary beliefs must be considered at another time.

[12] However, I was invited to all the feasts, and the invitations were always accepted.

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Other Customs centering about Food

264 There are various interesting customs which center around food apart from feasts or family meals. These may just be mentioned here as showing the important sociological rôle of food. Betrothal is consummated by the [584] girl preparing some food for the man and their sitting down with the basket of food between them and eating together. In many folk-tales, when we are told that a man and a woman, or a man and two women, sit down and eat together, this expresses the fact that they are married. A woman never eats with her lover.

[754] The remains of food are connected with black magic, and so one is careful never to leave any left-overs about.

[768] Even the ghosts are concerned with food. After a successful fishing expedition a half taro and a small piece of fish is left on the liga for the ghosts of dead clan ancestors whose aid has been asked in fishing magic.

262 The prohibition of certain foods on particular occasions is the essential part of several taboos. The most important of these is the taboo against eating taro for certain relatives of a dead person over a prescribed period of mourning. During pregnancy a woman may not eat a certain fish. This is [843] one with many bones, and it is thought that they would hurt the embryo child. A pregnant woman will be given a half of a baked taro by a woman who has had children. The latter eats the other half, and this act is believed to insure a successful delivery of the infant.

262 Food is the most frequent form of gift between husband and wife,
431 between mother's brother and his nephew or niece, between brother and
574 sister, and between friends. It is also an invariable mark of hospitality to offer food to a stranger.

Social Function

From the preceding description it is obvious that feasts in this society
182 have other functions beside the satisfaction of physical hunger. Sometimes
264 there is more than one feast in a day and the men then eat as a duty rather
574 than because they are hungry. One day there were three feasts in near-by hamlets, and all attended by the same men. Two were connected with death rites, and one was to mark the occasion of an infant's cutting his first tooth. By the time the third feast was reached, the men were not hungry, but all ate.

Even the family meal, which has the very definite physiological function of satisfying hunger, has also the sociological rôle of uniting the various members. In a similar way the sentiments binding the society together are given collective expression at the feasts, although the very strong line of sex